

Message Text

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FM USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5656

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 EC BRUSSELS 4686

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, US

SUBJECT: THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SEVEN MONTHS AFTER ENLARGEMENT
-AN ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) IS STILL IN A PERIOD
OF TRANSITION FOLLOWING THE SEVEN MONTHS SINCE ITS ENLARGEMENT.
PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN DEVELOPING COMMUNITY POSITIONS IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROGRAM LAID OUT BY THE 1972 EC SUMMIT,
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BUT MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE BEFORE JANUARY 1974.HDESPITE
A CERTAIN MALAISE IN COMMUNITY CIRCLES JUST BEFOR THE SUMMER
BREAK, THE CHANCES ARE THAT THE COMMUNITY WILL CONTINUE TO MOVZ
STEADILY ALONG FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR. U.S. RELATIONS WITH

THE ENLARGED COMMUNITY ARE ALSO IN A PERIOD OF FLUX. THE NEW COMMISSION HAS GIVEN A HIGH PRIORITY TO EC-US RELATIONS AND IS PURSUING A MORE SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO THEM. ALTHOUGH IMPORTANT TRADE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE EC PERSIST, THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH OUR PROBLEMS. ENLARGEMENT HAS NOT YET PROVIDED THE DECISIVE PUSH TOWARD FURTHER INTEGRATION. STRAINS HAVE DEVELOPED AMONG THE MEMBER STATES AND THERE HAS ALSO BEEN TALK OF A POSSIBLE "CRISIS" IN THE FALL. BUT THE STAKE OF THE MEMBER STATES IN THE COMMUNITY REMAINS HIGH AND IN OUR JUDGMENT NONE OF THEM CAN AFFORD TO SEE IT BREAK UP. THE INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN DEALING WITH THE COMMUNITY REMAINS. U.S. PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE YEAR OF EUROPE ARE FORCING THE EC MEMBERS TO CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS ON SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A "EUROPEAN IDENTITY", BUT THIS INTERNAL EC PROCESS IS A SLOW ONE. THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE THRUST OF THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS IT MADE IN 1972 IS STILL VALID: WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK

WAYS TO IMPROVE AND STRENGTHEN OUR CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES WITH THE COMMUNITY, AND TO PURSUE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST, ASSOCIATING JAPAN WITH THESE EFFORTS WHEN APPROPRIATE. OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE BOTH WITH THE EC INSTITUTIONS AND THE MEMBER STATES, BUT TO SUCCEED WE NEED TO ESTABLISH AN OVERALL POLITICAL FRAMEWORK, AS PROPOSED BY DR. DISSINGER, BASED ON COOPERATION AND COMMON PURPOSE. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT REACHING AGREEMENT ON SUCH A FRAMEWORK WILL REQUIRE TIME. WE MUST, IN WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY ON UPDATING, IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING U.S.-EC RELATIONSHIPS, AVOID WHAT APPEAR TO BE ATTACKS ON THEIR RIGHT TO HAVE COMMON EC POSITIONS BUT RATHER DELICATELY SEEK TO INFLUENCE THESE POSITIONS WHILE THEY ARE BEING FORMULATED. (AMBASSADOR BREENWALD CONCURRED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS MESSAGE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE.) END SUMMARY.

2. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS STILL IN A PERIOD OF TRANSITION FOLLOWING THE SEVEN MONTHS SINCE ITS ENLARGEMENT. THE CHANGES AND ADJUSTMENTS IN PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES MADE NECESSARY BY ENLARGEMENT HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN AN EFFICIENT CONFIDENTIAL

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MANNER. THE NEW MEMBERS, WHILE NOT COMPLETELY HAPPY WITH THE WAY THE COMMUNITY DOES BUSINESS, HAVE ACCEPTED PRESENT PROCEDURES BUT PUT THEIR PARTNERS ON NOTICE THAT THEY WILL PRESS FOR CHANGES IN THE FUTURE. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, THE COMMISSION HAS SUBMITTED PROPOSALS IN PRACTICALLY ALL THE AREAS PINPOINTED IN THE EC SUMMIT OF LAST OCTOBER. HOWEVER, THESE PROPOSALS ARE MAINLY IN GENERAL TERMS; LEAVING DETAILS FOR LATER AND CERTAINLY SLOWER ELABORATION. COUNCIL ACTION EVEN ON GENERAL POLICIES IS NOT YET COMPLETE WITH MUCH TO BE DONE BY THE END OF THE YEAR. MUCH IMPORTANT WORK HAS BEEN COMPLETED. THE COMMUNITY HAS MET THE SUMMIT DEADLINES FOR ADOPTING ITS GENERAL APPROACH TO THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ASSOCIATED AND ASSOCIABLE COUNTRIES. DESPITE STRAINS

THAT HAVE DEVELOPED AMONG THE MEMBER STATES AS A RESULT OF THE IMPACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SITUATION ON ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, AND ON THE WORKINGS OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY; SOME RUMBLINGS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMUNITY CRISIS IN THE FALL; AND A CERTAIN MALAISE OVER THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING A "EUROPEAN IDENTITY" VIS-A-VIS THE US, THE CHANGES ARE THAT THE COMMUNITY WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE STEADILY ALONG FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR. WHILE NO SPECTACULAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ARE THUS LIKELY IN THE SHORT RUN, THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME CONFRONTATION (PERHAPS A "CONTROLLED CRISIS") THIS FALL CANNOT BE RULED OUT. THE COINCIDENCE OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS FOR DECISION(E.G. ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, REGIONAL POLICY, INDUSTRIAL POLICY, SOCIAL POLICY) COULD PRODUCE A SITUATION WHERE TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY METHODS OF PACKAGE-MAKING AND TRADE OFF COME INTO PLAY.

3. U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ENLARGED COMMUNITY ARE ALSO IN A PERIOD OF FLUX. ALL OF THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WHICH WERE HIGH ON THE LIST OF U.S. CONCERNS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR ARE STILL THERE (I.E. TRADE QUESTIONS - MTN AND 24:6, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY NEGOTIATIONS, EC TRADE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE LDCS AND THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, AND ENERGY). NOR HAVE WE WORKED OUT AS YET WITH THE COMMUNITY A PROCEDURE FOR INVOLVING JAPAN WITH US AND THE EC IN A TRIPARTITE APPROACH TO DEALING WITH THESE QUESTIONS. IN ADDITION, THE EUROPEANS, AND SPECIFICALLY THE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES, HAVE SO FAR NOT MET THE CHALLENGE OF RESPONDING JOINTLY TO OUR INITIATIVE IN CALLING FOR AN UPDATING OF TRANS-CONFIDENTIAL

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ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIPS.HARTMAN

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4. DESPITE THIS TRANSITIONAL SITUATION (BOTH WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE U. S.), SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. THE COMMUNITY, LED IN MANY CASES BY IMAGINATIVE COMMISSION SUGGESTIONS, HAS GENUINELY ATTEMPTED TO MEET THE CONCERN EXPRESSED BY SECRETARY SHULTZ IN HIS VISIT THAT WE MANAGE OUR RELATIONS ON BOTH SIDES IN WAYS THAT ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER AND FIND SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS. THE COMMISSION DID GET A SATISFACTORY TRADE OVERVIEW THROUGH THE COUNCIL DESPITE FRENCH SNIPING. SOAMES, GUNDELACH, AND CERTAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBER STATES APPEAR TO HAVE FOUND A WAY THROUGH THE ROCKY SHOALS TO MAKE AN OFFER ON ARTICLE 24:6. SOME HEADWAY IN OUR OPPOSITION TO REVERSE PREFERENCES SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE MEMBER STATES BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IN SUPPORT FROM THE LDCE THEMSELVES. ALTHOUGH THE CAP REMAINS AS A LARGE ISSUE, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, CHANGES IN THE WORLD AGRICULTURAL PICTURE HAVE LESSENED THE INTENSITY OF THE PROBLEM, GIVING US MORE TIME TO SEARCH FOR NEW APPROACHES. THIS NEW SITUATION HAS GIVEN SECRETARY BUTZ AND LARDINOIS THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER IN SOLVING A COMMON PROBLEM. THIS EXPERIENCE MAY GIVE US A GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE THE GROWING EFFORT TO REVIEW AND REVISE THE CAP. THE SOYBEAN CRISIS HAS HAD SOME BAD LONG-TERM EFFECTS BUT IT HAS THROWN US CLOSER TOGETHER IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS. IT HAS ALSO REVEALED A CERTAIN TOUGHNESS AND INDEPENDENCE ON THE PART OF THE COMMISSION ACTING THROUGH LARDINOIS. THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE C-20 ALSO SUGGEST THAT CONSTRUCTIVE BUT QUIET CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR PARTNERS IS PAYING OFF.

5. IMPROVED US-EC CONSULTATIONS HAVE BEEN A POSITIVE RESULT OF THE COMMUNITY'S ENLARGEMENT. THIS IS DUE LARGELY TO THE ATTITUDES OF SEVERAL KEY MEMBERS OF THE NEW COMMISSION. IT IS CLEARLY MORE SENSITIVE THAN ITS PREDECESSOR THE IMPORTANCE OF RELATIONS WITH THE US AND MORE PREPARED TO WORK ON THESE

PROBLEMS. APART FROM THE OBVIOUS CONCENTRATION ON US-EC RELATIONS BY SOAMES, AS THE COMMISSIONER PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE, ORTOLI ALSO CONSIDERS GOOD US-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AS CRUCIAL TO WESTERN INTERESTS AND PUTS THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE VERY HIGH ON HIS AGENDA. THE COMMISSION IS PURSUING A MORE SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO US-EC RELATIONS. SIX OF THE THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION HAVE ALREADY BEEN TO WASHINGTON SINCE JANUARY. OF THESE, FOUR WENT IN CONNECTION WITH SPECIFIC ISSUES AND IN THE INTEREST OF PROMOTING BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND DAMPENING THE POSSIBILITIES OF CONFRONTATION. SOAMES OF COURSE, WHO WENT EARLY IN THE YEAR, WAS INTERESTED IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF US-EC RELATIONS AND SPECIFICALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE MTN. GUNDELACH ALSO PURSUED THE LATTER QUESTION, PARTICULARLY THE NTB ASPECT, BUT ALSO DISCUSSED THE ARTICLE 24:6 PROBLEM. LARDINOIS WENT TO WASHINGTON AFTER CONSULTING THE COUNCIL, WITH THE BENEFITS NOTED ABOVE. ALTHOUGH SIMONET HAD NO OFFICIAL MANDATE, HIS CONSULTATIONS WERE USEFUL IN LAYING THE BASIS FOR FUTURE TALKS, AND POSSIBLE COOPERATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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TION IN THE ENERGY FIELD. NEW OFFICIALS AT LOWER LEVELS ELG. RONALD GRIERSON, ALSO APPEAR TO BE MOVING THE COMMISSION AWAY FROM DOGMATIC, DOCTRINAIRE POLICIES AND TOWARD PRAGMATISM.

6. NEVERTHELESS, THE COMMUNITY SEEMS TO BE IN A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY. A SPIRIT OF SOME PESSIMISM AND DEJECTION SEEMED TO PERMEATE ALL LEVELS OF COMMISSION OFFICIALDOM AT THE END OF JULY, JUST BEFORE THE MASS EXODUS FOR SUMMER VACATION. THE IMPULSE OF THE OCTOBER 1972 SUMMIT HAD BEEN LARGELY DISSIPATED. FRENCH NEGATIVISM OVER THE MTN OVERVIEW, A COMMUNITY ENERGY POLICY, AND THE DIALOGUE WITH THE U. S. CONTRIBUTED TO THE MALAISE BUT FATIGUE UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO PLAYED A PART. SOME OBSERVERS BEGAN TO TALK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A "CRISIS" IN THE FALL-AFTER ALL, CRISES HAVE TRADITIONALLY PROVIDED THE IMPETUS TO NEW SPURTS OF PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED PAST COMMUNITY HISTORY. IN ANY CASE, THE STAKE OF THE MEMBER STATES IN THE COMMUNITY REMAINS HIGH AND IN OUR JUDGMENT NONE OF THEM CAN AFFORD TO SEE IT BREAK UP.

7. ENLARGEMENT HAS NOT YET PROVIDED THE DECISIVE PUSH TOWARD FURTHER INTEGRATION NOR DID ANYBODY EXPECT THAT IT WOULD SINCE MOST OBSERVERS AGREE THAT THIS CAN ONLY COME WITH A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE MEMBER STATES. TO MOVE INTEGRATION FORWARD MORE RAPIDLY, THE MEMBER STATES WILL HAVE TO BE WILLING TO DEFINE COMMON INTERESTS AND GOALS, AND TO ACT ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTING CONSENSUS, RATHER THAN SIMPLY FIGHT FOR NARROWLY-DEFINED NATIONAL INTERESTS. IT WAS ALSO EXPECTED THAT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY WOULD DEPEND ON THE ROLE THE UK WOULD PLAY AS A MEMBER AND ON THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP THAT EVOLVED AMONG THE BIG THREE- THE UK, FRANCE AND THE FRG. DURING THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF MEMBERSHIP, THE BRITISH HAVE MOVED CAUTIOUSLY. PLAGUED BY ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS AT HOME, PLUS THE LARGE TASK OF ADJUSTING

TO MEMBERSHIP ITSELF, THEY HAVE NOT ATTEMPTED TO ASSERT THEMSELVES BY PLAYING A LEADING ROLE. WHILE DEFENDING AND PUSHING BRITISH INTERESTS, THEY HAVE DONE SO PRETTY MUCH WITHIN ESTABLISHED LIMITS. ALTHOUGH ON SEVERAL ISSUES THEY ARE IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE FRENCH (E. G. RECIPROCITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND AFRICA, CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE CAP), THEY HAVE NOT TAKEN THEM ON FRONTALLY. THE GERMANS LIKEWISE HAVE NOT TAKEN ON THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP ONE WOULD EXPECT THEM TO CLAIM

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ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PREDOMINANT ECONOMIC POSITION. FINALLY, THE FRENCH APPEAR TO HAVE REVERTED TO A STRONGLY NEGATIVE POSTURE ON ALMOST ALL ISSUES. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT THE FRENCH HAVE ANCHORED THEMSELVES ON THE EXTREME IN ORDER TO BARGAIN MORE EFFECTIVELY FOR THEIR INTEREST OR SOMETIMES JUST TO GIVE THEMSELVES TIME TO SORT OUT WHERE THEY WANT TO GO. THEY ARE CERTAINLY UNCOMFORTABLE IN A SITUATION WHERE THE NECESSITY OF PUBLICLY ARRIVING AT POSITIONS FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS MEANS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE NINE OFTEN ANTICIPATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U. S.

8. AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM THAT REMAINS FOR THE COMMUNITY AND FOR US, IN OUR RELATIONS WITH IT, IS THE INSTITUTIONAL ONE -WHEN WE DEAL WITH THE COMMUNITY, WITH WHOM DO WE TALK. THIS HAS BEEN BROUGHT EVEN MORE SHARPLY INTO FOCUS BY OUR PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE YEAR OF EUROPE. WE ARE NOW FORCING EC MEMBER STATES TO CONCENTRATE ON THIS, PERHAPS PREMATURELY LOOKED AT FROM THE STANDPOINT ONLY. AS WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN, THEIR INTERNAL PROCESS IS A SLOW ONE AND THE 1980 TIMETABLE FOR EUROPEAN UNION IS UNCERTAIN, OF ACHIEVEMENT AND A ROCKY ROAD AT BEST. MOREOVER, BECAUSE OF THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SITUATION, US-USSR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND DEALINGS, THE EUROPEANS ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT THEIR OWN ROLE, ESPECIALLY SINCE THEY ARE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO DEAL WITH US COMPREHENSIVELY. BUT IN SEEKING THIS "EUROPEAN IDENTITY" THERE IS NO WIDESPREAD EVIDENCE THAT ANTI-AMERICANISM IS MOTIVATING THE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES. RATHER IT SEEMS MORE TO BE A DESIRE TO KNOW WHERE THEY ARE GOING FIRST, SO THAT EUROPE CAN PLAY ITS OWN PART ON THE WORLD SCENE AND ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

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9. IN LOOKING AT THE COMMUNITY AFTER SEVEN MONTHS SINCE ITS ENLARGEMENT, WE BELIEVE THE THRUST OF THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THIS MSSION MADE IN JANUARY 1972 (EC BRUSSELS 4, JANUARY 7, 1972) CONTINUES TO BE VALID. WE WOULD REFORMULATE OUR RECOMMENDATIONS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK WAYS TO IMPROVE AND STRENGTHEN OUR CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES WITH THE COMMUNITY, AND TO PURSUE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST. WHERE IT IS APPROPRIATE AND FEASIBLE, WE SHOULD SEEK CONFIDENTIAL

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WAYS TO ASSOCIATE JAPAN IN THESE EFFORTS.

(B) DURING THE MULTILATERAL TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL MONETARY NEGOTIATIONS, IN ANY EVENT, WE WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE COMMUNITY, WE SHOULD SEEK TO BRING THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF FURTHER LIBERALIZING WORLD TRADE AND IMPROVING BOTH THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEMS.

(C) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK LIBERALIZATION IN AGRICULTURAL TRADE, BOTH IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND IN OUR BILATERAL DEALINGS WITH THE COMMUNITY.

(D) OTHER SPECIFIC AREAS ON WHICH WE SHOULD SEEK TO CONSULT WITH THE COMMUNITY AND TO COOPERATE WHERE APPROPRIATE ARE ENERGY, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD (TRADE AND COMMODITY ASPECTS AS WELL AS AID), INDUSTRIAL POLICY, ANTI-TRUST AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

(E) IN ALL OF THESE MATTERS OUR CONTACTS MUST CONTINUE TO BE

BOTH WITH THE EC INSTITUTIONS AND THE MEMBER STATE GOVERNMENTS,
AND AT ALL LEVELS, IF WE ARE TO GET OUR VIEWS ACROSS EFFECTIVELY
AND WITH MORE CHANCE OF INFLUENCING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENTS.
IN THIS RESPECT, HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR TASK MAY NOT BE
ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT THE OVERALL POLITICAL FRAMEWORK, BASED ON
COOPERATION AND COMMON PURPOSE, AS SET FORTH IN DR. KISSINGER'S
PROPOSALS FOR THE YEAR OF EUROPE. THE COMMUNITY REACTION TO THOSE
PROPOSALS, AS WE HAVE SEEN, SUGGESTS THAT THE PROCESS IS LIKELY
TO BE LENGTHY ONE AND OUR PRINCIPAL PROBLEM ON THE ECONOMIC
SIDE WILL BE HOW TO HAVE A DIALOGUE WHICH RECOGNIZES THE ROLE
AND PURPOSE OF THE COMMUNITY BEFORE THE COMMUNITY HAS EVEN A
TENTATIVE VIEW OF ITS OWN. WE CAN'T CONSIDER THIS AN IMPOSSIBLE
TASK BUT SOME PATIENCE AND IMAGINATION WILL BE NECESSARY TO
AVOID THE OBVIOUS PITFALLS OF THE U. S. APPEARING TO ANTICIPATE
COMMUNITY CONSENSUS. ALREADY THIS YEAR WE HAVE DONE JUST THAT
BY NOT ATTACKING THE PROBLEM FRONTALLY BY CHALLENGING THE
COMMUNITY'S GOAL OF COMMON POLICIES, BUT INSTEAD DELICATELY
INFLUENCING THE COMMUNITY DEBATE.
HARTMAN

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